

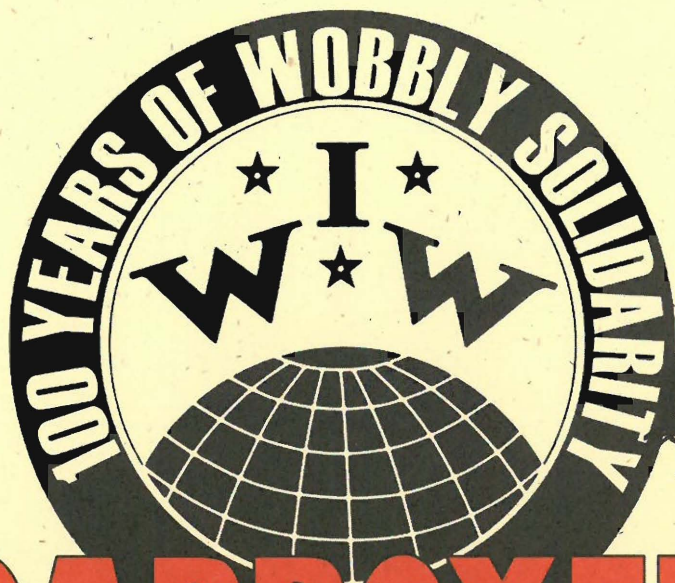
2005

Soapboxes and Saboteurs: 100 Years of Wobbly Solidarity: An Exhibit

Hand, Franki; Herrada, Julie

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**SOAPBOXERS
& SABOTEURS**

Soapboxers and Saboteurs

100 Years of Wobbly Solidarity

September 6 - November 26, 2005

An Exhibit
Curated by Julie Herrada



Special Collections Library
University of Michigan

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Dedicated to all the anonymous Wobblies who sacrificed
their lives for their fellow workers, and to Carlos Cortez,
who was a true living spirit of the IWW.

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Industrial Worker

Official Organ of the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Published Weekly

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CHICAGO, ILL.

518



"An Injury to One is
An Injury to All"

January 6, 1933.

1933

Agnes Ingles,
809 So. Division St.,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Dear Agnes Ingles:

Received your note and am having the material forwarded as per directions. I'm sure you will find some of it valuable. House-cleaning is a big job around this office. There were tons of old stuff and I fear much interesting material was baled and sold.

The boys were informed to save at least one copy of every item to send to the collection. If they have failed, it is simply because there was so much material to choose from. But I'm sure they did the best they could.

I look forward to the pleasure of visiting that wonderful collection some day. Just at present I'm head over heels in work here and see but little chance of getting caught up for some time to come.

My wife and boy always wish to be remembered. Your loyalty and devotion have endeared you to all of us. I'm sure we would have many things to talk over.

With best wishes and much appreciation, I remain,

Sincerely,

Ralph Chaplin

RC:JH

Letter from Ralph Chaplin to Agnes Ingles, first curator of the Labadie Collection

Welcome to this exhibit celebrating the centennial year of the Industrial Workers of the World, one of the most influential and colorful labor unions of our time. Julie Herrada, Curator of the exhibit and of the Labadie Collection of Social Protest Literature (part of the Special Collections Library), has brought the vivid history of the IWW to life through photographs, posters, pamphlets, manuscripts, books, and newspaper clippings.

The variety and richness of materials included in this exhibit demonstrate the extraordinary strengths of the Labadie Collection. The Collection began with the gift of Jo Labadie's own archive and library to the University of Michigan in 1911. Known as "the gentle anarchist of Detroit," Labadie was a printer, early labor leader, and columnist for several journals (among them Benjamin Tucker's magazine *Liberty*), who corresponded with many other important progressive thinkers and accumulated a noteworthy collection of radical publications of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

However, it was through the contacts and support of the first curator of the Labadie Collection, Agnes Inglis, that a great many of the IWW materials in the collection were acquired. Born to a wealthy family in Detroit, Agnes Inglis became a social activist as an adult and was a good friend and supporter of many radical causes such as social welfare assistance and labor organizing. She became known as a reliable person who could help out in many ways, whether the need was for organizing Emma Goldman's appearances in Ann Arbor or providing bail money for jailed IWW members. While she was Curator of the Labadie Collection from the 1920s to the 1950s many people who admired her gave their personal and organizational papers and archives to the Collection, including several who were integral to IWW history. (See the letter from Ralph Chaplin on facing page.)

The University of Michigan Library has continuously added to the Labadie Collection since its receipt. It now has some 800 subscriptions to periodicals being produced by radical groups and tens of thousands of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts on topics ranging from early labor unions to civil rights struggles to student unrest of the 1960s. It is one of the leading collections of historical sources related to social radicalism in the world, and is used intensively by students and faculty at the University of Michigan as well as by researchers from around the country and from abroad.

We are extremely grateful to our co-sponsors, who have helped to make this catalogue and a special concert and reception featuring singer Anne Feeney on October 19th possible.

Peggy Daub, Head
Special Collections Library

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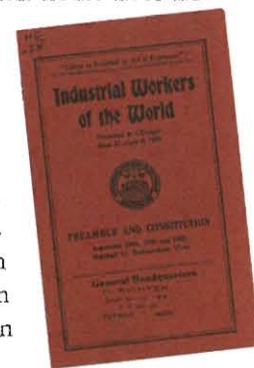
The Making of a Radical Labor Union

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common."

Opening sentence of the IWW Preamble.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, working conditions in American factories, mines, and mills were deplorable. Industrialists were ruthlessly making money at the expense of the health and safety of workers, often looking upon their employees as less than human and treating them practically as slaves. No labor laws existed to protect the men, women and children who poured into northern industrial centers. The cheapest of laborers were the freed slaves from the South and poor immigrants from Europe escaping famines, devastating wars, and repressive regimes. Instead of finding a better way of life they found conditions as dire as those they had left behind, with disease-ridden slums of sub-standard tenements and shoddy mining towns making their home lives no easier than their work lives.

Some of these immigrants began speaking out and organizing working people to try to forge a better standard of living for themselves and their compatriots. At first only skilled tradesmen were unionized, but in 1869 the Knights of Labor was created, a union including all workers regardless of skill, race, or gender. (Joseph A. Labadie, founder of the Labadie Collection, was an organizer for the Knights of Labor in the 1870s). The union rapidly grew in membership to nearly 750,000, but declined in the 1880s and was practically extinct by 1900.



I.W.W. Constitution, 1908

In addition to poverty-level wages, dangerous machinery, sub-standard and unsanitary sweatshops, and indifferent and cruel bosses, exceedingly long hours were imposed on workers of all ages. Six-day workweeks of 12-14-hour days were not uncommon. One of the principal labor struggles in the 1880s was the movement for the eight-hour day. This idea was considered a major threat to industrial progress and profits, and whenever those advocating it took action they were usually met with violence.

One of the galvanizing events in American labor history was the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886, sparked by the struggle for an eight-hour day. After striking workers were attacked by police on May 3, a bomb killing eight police was thrown by an unknown person the next day in Haymarket Square during a mass protest meeting. Eight well-known labor activists and anarchists were charged with the murders, and despite a lack of evidence connecting any of them to the crime, all eight were found guilty, with seven sentenced to



death. Public outcry about the obviously unfair trial sparked protests around the world. Four of the eight were hanged on November 11, 1887, becoming martyrs for the cause of labor. In 1893 Governor John P. Altgeld commuted the sentences of the remaining Haymarket defendants, and that same year a memorial was sculpted at the cemetery in Chicago where the martyrs were buried, inscribed with the final words of one of their number, August Spies: "The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today." Although the Haymarket tragedy contributed to the fall of the Knights of Labor, who were also declining from the simultaneous rise of the American Federation of Labor, the severe miscarriage of justice it represented also got the wider attention of the world focused on labor struggles.

Into this atmosphere the Industrial Workers of the World was born on June 27, 1905, in Chicago, when a group of anarchists, socialists, and trade unionists convened. Among the founders were Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs, anarchist priest and editor of *Voice of Labor* Fr. Thomas J. Hagerty, William Trautmann, editor of the United Brewery Workers German-language paper *Brauer Zeitung*, well-known labor activist Mother Jones, head of the Western Federation of Miners William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood, leader of the Socialist Labor Party Daniel De Leon, and Lucy Parsons, anarchist and widow of Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons, as well as members of the International Working People's Association. Presiding over the meeting was Haywood, a large and powerful presence. He began with this statement:

Fellow Workers, this is the Continental Congress of the Working Class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working-class movement in possession of the economic powers, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution without regard to capitalist masters.

The nearly 200 delegates present agreed on the need to organize a class of all workers into "One Big Union," regardless of skill or trade, race or gender. This concept was in opposition to, and a direct response to the American Federation of Labor's craft unionism in which only skilled tradesmen were allowed membership. The elitist AFL (referred to disparagingly by IWW members as "American Separation of Labor") would only organize skilled trade workers, thereby excluding blacks, hobos, immigrants, itinerant workers, and women. In addition, the IWW intended to abolish the wage system, and allow the workers to take



Lucy Parsons

control of industry at the point of production. AFL leader Samuel Gompers tried to persuade and intimidate local AFL members from attending the Chicago convention, and never gave up his fight against the IWW.

Although the delegates agreed upon the wording for most of a Preamble there was serious conflict among them about one clause relating to the tactics to be used to bring about the end of capitalism. One faction, mainly anarchists, was against political activity of any kind (e.g., ballots, elections, and labor contracts), viewing direct action such as strikes and sabotage as more potent tools. They, like many anarchists of that time, had been radicalized by the Haymarket affair, and were inspired by the courage of the anarchists who sacrificed their lives for working men and women. The delegates from the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, on the other hand, subscribed to political activity as many, having also witnessed the Haymarket incident, had seen what can happen to militant labor agitators and were not willing to make the same sacrifice. Unable to reach a satisfactory compromise, the ranks of the IWW were split by 1908, with Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor Party leaving to form the Workers' International Industrial Union in Detroit. The group never gained the recognition and reputation the IWW did, and dissolved by 1915. This left the IWW in the control of the direct-actionists, whose fearlessness and militant activities became legendary.



Mother Jones

Union dues for the IWW were set low intentionally in order to be affordable to all workers, and only wage-earners were allowed membership. Those who had the power to hire and fire workers were not welcome. There were eight main industrial departments established: mining, agriculture, transportation, building, food stuffs, public service, distribution, and manufacture, with each subdivided into related fields.

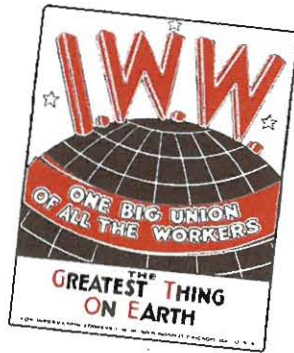
The IWW members, known as "wobblies," with their anarcho-syndicalism ideals and direct action tactics of sit-down strikes, general strikes, walkouts, and sabotage, were a thorn in the side of employers, police, and government officials. They rejected labor contracts as hindering spontaneous actions and "sympathy" strikes, and possibly corrupting union leaders given power to negotiate with employers on behalf of workers. Most Wobblies, as the lowest rung of the class structure, hadn't much to lose, so threatening them with jail or unemployment was not an effective approach. However, many suffered severe beatings, torture, and death from thugs and vigilantes hired to break strikes, kidnap and beat IWW leaders and sympathizers, and attack members



in their homes or union halls. By 1907 there were already a number of heated strikes in mines and textile and lumber mills as well as frame-ups of several IWW leaders. Over the next few years numerous strikes took place, including the legendary and successful Bread and Roses strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, in which 25,000 workers took part.

Various stories surround the origins of the nickname, "Wobblies." The most likely and most often cited refers to a Chinese restaurant owner in Vancouver who supported the union because of the large numbers of Chinese workers in it and offered credit to members. In asking, with his heavy accent, if a customer was IWW, the words came out as: "eye wobble wobble." The organization's ability to appeal to immigrants attracted members other unions could not or would not reach out to. Today, all IWWs are known as Wobblies, or Wobs. Their greeting of solidarity to each other is "Fellow Worker."

In addition to their radical ideas and militant tactics, the Wobblies are renowned for their imagination and creativity as writers, poets, singers, and artists. Their wisecracking, inventive, and catchy irreverence gave way to some of the most widely sung labor songs in history. Many religious hymns were appropriated, with new, mocking, anti-boss and anti-preacher words replacing the church's version. Many people are still attracted to the union through its music, art, and merriment. Their Little Red Song Book, containing many songs by the IWW's most famous member, Joe Hill, has been a staple on picket lines and at demonstrations throughout the last century. These songs help create a genuine feeling of solidarity.



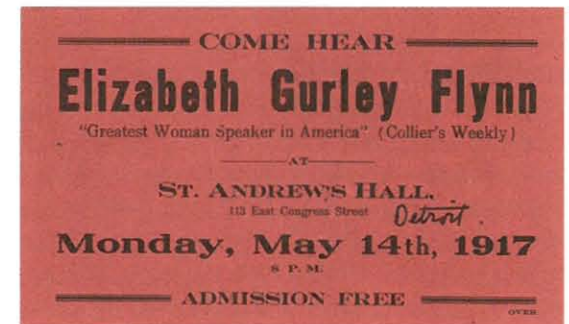
Trains and hobos also figure prominently in Wobbly culture. Hobos, who had their own language and subculture, were difficult to organize. However, they could be counted on in a pinch to hop freights, converge on a city or town where there was a fight for free speech or a strike, and turn the tables against the bosses and police. Alone, they were sitting ducks, subjected to various abuses on and off the job, but together they made up a formidable force in the IWW movement.

Some derogatory nicknames for IWW members, such as "I Won't Work," "I Want Whiskey," or "Irresponsible Wholesale Wreckers," have been used to turn public opinion and potential employers against them, although most IWWs did not deny the monikers. Wobblies played the same name game, sometimes referring to themselves as "International Wonder Workers." "I Will Win" was another twist they used on the acronym. One of the most common errors in referring to the union is as the International Workers of the World.

After being placed on the U.S. Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations in 1949, the IWW was mostly dormant until the mid-1960s, when a revival began to take place in university towns in the Midwest. Several organizing drives were waged around the country throughout the 1970s and 1980s, including the People's Warehouse and the Ann Arbor Tenants Union in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The union's focus since then has been in organizing the natural food and commercial industries, non-profit organizations, and the service, retail and recycling, and construction industries, as well as supporting environmental, antiwar, and other progressive movements for social change. There are currently branches in 25 U.S. states and in Australia, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, and Japan. There are unions representing eleven industries, including lumber, marine transport, construction, clothing, motor transport, communications, education, public interest, restaurant, hotel and building service, utility service, and distribution. The IWW General Headquarters, located in Chicago for 86 years, and based in Ypsilanti, Michigan in the late 1990s, is now in Philadelphia.

This exhibit is the first to showcase the Labadie Collection's IWW materials. It does not attempt to cover the entire 100 years of Wobbly existence, but merely touches upon some of the major events and adventures of its history, especially those connecting it to the Labadie Collection. Agnes Inglis, the Labadie's first curator (1924-1952) had earlier been an activist for the IWW, raising funds, hosting meetings, and putting up bail money for imprisoned Wobblies. In return, several IWW members, including Ralph Chaplin, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Mary Gallagher, and George Carey, as well as the daughter of E.F. Doree, donated important archival materials to the Labadie Collection.

The year 2005 does not simply mark an anniversary of an old labor union. The IWW is a living, functioning organization, with contemporary struggles and dreams of a better world. It may have experienced its heyday over 80 years ago, but it has never died. The ideals and hopes of Wobblies live on, and the famous people who make up its history are not just remarkable characters; they made profound sacrifices and serve as inspiration to working class people everywhere.



Announcement for a speech in Detroit





Wobblies Strike Back

"Every strike is a small revolution and a dress rehearsal for the big one"

The Labor Defender, Dec. 15, 1918

By 1906 the IWW was off to a roaring start despite a rift in the organization between the traditional trade unionists and the direct actionists and the frame-up of Haywood and two others for the assassination of a former Governor of Idaho (they were defended by Clarence Darrow and all three were acquitted). That year strikes broke out at a Nevada mine and the General Electric plant in New York, and by 1908, nine strikes had taken place from Maine to Oregon. By 1920 there had been over 70 IWW strikes across the United States in lumber and saw mills, textile mills, factories, and steel mills, as well as strikes in mines, meatpacking plants, docks, marine transport, construction sites, bakeries, and hotels. The IWW strikes not only tested the mettle of the workers, but made the public aware of this union's unique tactics and colorful leaders. Detailed below are just a few of the most famous IWW strikes.

In 1909, 5,000 Slav workers in McKees Rock, Pennsylvania fought a bitter battle against the Pressed Steel Car Company's low pay and oppressive working conditions. A riot broke out and eleven people died in the struggle with dozens more wounded. McKees Rock is remembered as one of the bloodiest strikes in U.S. labor history, but it also boosted public opinion of the IWW.

A strike among textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts in 1912 became famous as the "Bread and Roses Strike." Occurring less than one year after the Triangle Shirtwaist fire in New York City took the lives of over 100 female employees (because they were locked inside the factory), the strike was among workers in similar circumstances: more than half were immigrant girls ages 14-18, working conditions were extremely hazardous, and the hours were long. In 1912 a Massachusetts state law was enacted reducing the work week from 56 to 54 hours, prompting the mill owners to decrease wages accordingly and causing serious financial hardship for the workers. A wildcat strike resulted and within a week 25,000 workers had walked off the job. IWW organizers Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti formed a committee and arranged to have the strike meetings translated into 25 languages. The women put forth a set of demands, but also adopted a slogan coined by union activist Rose Schneiderman exemplifying the desire for a better life: "We want bread and roses too!"

The authorities responded with violence against the workers. They turned fire hoses on the picketers, and jailed hundreds. A striker was shot and killed by the police, with Ettor

and Giovannitti framed for her murder (though they were eventually acquitted). Martial law was declared, and public meetings banned. Bill Haywood and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn were sent to Lawrence to take over strike activities. When the children of strikers were to be sent out of town to stay with sympathetic families so their parents could focus on the struggle, the police ambushed the group of 100 children and their mothers at the train station, where they were beaten with clubs and thrown into trucks to be taken to jail. The event was well-documented by the press and resulted in Congressional hearings that bought many sympathizers for the union, including Helen Keller. The mill owners conceded and the two month strike ended with all the workers' demands met. The victory was in part due to the successful raising of funds for the strikers, who would not have been able to survive financially otherwise. Within a few years, however, the workers lost what they had won. Pre-strike conditions returned, union activists were fired, and labor spies were brought in to quash any further union activity.

The next big strike was in 1913 at the Paterson, New Jersey, silk factories. Workers who were already running two high-speed automatic looms at a time in unheated and unventilated shops were ordered to operate four. Eight hundred workers initially walked off the job in one mill, but within a month the strike had spread and 25,000 workers closed down



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn addresses the Paterson strikers

300 silk mills. Again, Haywood and Flynn were brought in to lead the strike. Over 3,000 strikers were arrested, and two were killed by private detectives who were never brought to trial. Journalists Mabel Dodge, Walter Lippman, and John Reed organized a pageant at Madison Square Garden in order to raise both public awareness and funds for the strikers. The pageant drew 15,000 people, filling the Garden. Using 1000 strikers as actors, they sang songs and reenacted scenes from the strike. It received rave reviews, but was a financial failure, since many in the audience could not afford tickets and were let in free or at a discount. With diminishing strike funds and constant pressure from the mill owners, the spirit of the strikers began to collapse after five months. The strike finally failed and working conditions returned to normal.

Unlike the textile workers in the east, most rubber workers in Akron, Ohio were American-born, but they had still been unsuccessful for years in their unionizing efforts with the



AFL. One of the tactics companies used to keep wages down was to over-advertise for jobs, which ensured a steady stream of potential employees. They also used spies and blacklisted anyone found to be a union member. Eventually the long hours, continually decreasing wages and constant pressure to speed up the work finally caused the workers to call in the IWW. Arturo Giovannitti, William Trautmann, and Bill Haywood went to Akron to lead the effort. Before the union could even call a strike, the workers walked out in response to yet another wage cut while the companies were earning huge profits, and within nine days nearly 20,000 workers had left the factories. Under Samuel Gompers' direction, the AFL tried to take over the strike, but the workers stuck with the IWW. Despite attempts on the part of the police to provoke violence, the strikes remained



Arturo Giovannitti

peaceful. By the fourth week, the companies decided to break the strike using force, charging a line of pickets and pushing them for two blocks until the unarmed strikers finally turned and stood their ground. The police then let loose on them with clubs, arresting and jailing dozens. The same thing happened three days later, and the local jail was filled. Martial law was declared in Akron. Vigilante activity continued unabated, and finally the workers conceded and went back to the factories with not a single demand met.

These are just a few of many industry-wide local work stoppages led by the IWW. Each one had the immediate goal of improving the working conditions and wages in a particular industry. The general strike, however, was the real objective of the IWW. It was a logical step in the process to abolish the wage system and create a new society in which workers have control over what they produce. Such a strike is extremely difficult to organize because it involves the entire labor force of a city, but it has been done. The IWW took part in the first general strike in the United States, in Seattle in 1919.

Despite strong ideological differences, many workers in Seattle were inspired by the revolution taking place in Russia in 1919. Beginning with 35,000 shipyard employees, within ten days 110,000 people were on strike throughout the city. From February 6-11, the city was peaceful and mutual aid was foremost. A General Strike Committee was formed to organize and provide for the daily needs of the citizens, such as garbage pickup and food distribution. Firemen remained on the job, as did milk truck drivers. Unarmed army veterans kept the peace, but unlike many smaller strikes, there was no violence and no arrests were made during the strike. The work stoppage was nonetheless viewed by the authorities as an act of revolution. Thousands of federal troops and deputies were sent in but the strike didn't end until the international AFL began to pressure workers to return to work.

Because of its recent agitation in other cities, the IWW was accused of having masterminded the Seattle strike and it received much of the blame for it with the arrest of thirty-nine members. The Seattle General Strike was one of the most successful revolutionary actions in U.S. labor history. Other general strikes of varying degrees and successes have taken place in Winnipeg, Manitoba, (1919), United Kingdom (1926), Toledo, Ohio, (1934), San Francisco (1934), Paris, France (1968), and Uruguay (1973), and there have been several already in Europe in the twenty-first century.

The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (or the Wagner Act) prohibited discrimination on the basis of union activity, and effectively legalized union membership. However, the Act did not cover agricultural and domestic workers. The Taft-Hartley Act (1947) placed some harsh restrictions on unions, barring the right to strike in support of another union's dispute with an employer ("secondary boycotts") and to have "closed shops," seriously weakening their power. At the same time it also loosened restrictions on employers. Due to the anti-labor restrictions of the Taft-Hartley Act and the decline in union membership in the United States there have been far fewer labor strikes over the past 20 years.

Strikebreakers (also known as "scabs") are viewed by the IWW and other unions as the most contemptible of workers' foes. Fierce confrontations between strikers and scabs have occurred. Many strikes have been lost due to those who crossed picket lines, worked during a strike, or accepted conditions that union workers rejected. Several songs and poems have been written about scabs who suffered horrible fates, including Joe Hill's *Casey Jones-Union Scab*. A particularly graphic description was written by Jack London in 1904:

After God had finished the rattlesnake, the toad, and the vampire, he had some awful substance left with which he made a SCAB. A SCAB is a two-legged animal with a cork-screwed soul, a water-logged brain, and a combination backbone made of jelly and glue. Where others have hearts he carries a tumor of rotten principles. A strikebreaker is a traitor to his God, his country, his family, and his class!



Free Speech Fights

"Out there in San Diego
Where the western breakers beat,
They're jailing men and women
For speaking on the street."

Solidarity, February 17, 1912

Because of the IWW's mission to organize all workers into One Big Union, immigrant, migrant, blacklisted, unskilled, itinerant, and other hard-to-reach workers were targets of Wobbly organizers. Many couldn't read at all, or couldn't read English. Organizers weren't allowed into the shops, factories, or lumber camps, so instead they congregated on street corners and town squares where they addressed workers from soapboxes to try to persuade them to join the IWW.

Company owners, aware of the methods being used to organize their employees, put pressure on local governments to enact and enforce ordinances against street speaking. Since the laws were not applied to Salvation Army speakers, who were given the freedom to preach and lure workers to the local mission with the promise of a meal, the Wobblies decided to defy the local ordinances restricting their First Amendment rights. These challenges became what are known as the free speech fights.



Between 1909 and 1916 free speech fights took place in several cities, including Missoula, Spokane, Denver, Kansas City, Duluth, Fresno, Everett, and San Diego. Police would arrest the Wobblies as soon as they stepped up to speak. Some began reading from the U.S. Constitution or the Bill of Rights, adding further irony to the situation. The following pattern emerged: as soon as one was arrested another would take his place on the soapbox until the local jails were full of Wobblies. Telegrams were sent out asking any "footloose"

Wobblies to come and take their turn on the soapbox, and hundreds responded, hopping freights just as they would to find work. City officials were not prepared for the onslaught of inmates and the entire judicial system was clogged with free speech cases. Residents complained, and eventually the government gave in, dropping all charges and releasing the prisoners in city after city.



The San Diego free speech fight was the longest running (18 months) and one of the bloodiest. A well organized vigilante committee was established to try to prevent IWWs from coming to San Diego by beating, torturing, kidnapping, killing, and "deporting" them (which usually meant being dumped out in the desert). Groups of people were sprayed with fire hoses. The vigilantes raided and trashed the IWW headquarters. The press published vicious anti-IWW propaganda. Anarchist Emma Goldman was invited to give a speech to the workers and free speech fighters. As described in her autobiography she was warned by the vigilantes not to speak, but she and her comrade Ben Reitman ignored the threats. Then, while the Police Chief and Mayor were trying to convince Goldman to cancel her speech, Reitman was kidnapped by vigilantes and taken to the desert, where he was tarred and feathered, tortured for hours, and put on a train to Los Angeles.

In 1916, Everett, Washington was the scene of a strike by the shingle weavers, skilled workers organized not by the IWW but by another union. City officials were vehemently against the Wobblies' presence, and tried everything they could to prevent any of them from entering Everett. On October 16 one of the most violent free speech fights erupted when the Wobblies were forced by the sheriff's deputies to run a gauntlet and were badly beaten with clubs and sticks. On Sunday, November 5, 300 IWWs tried to enter the city by boat from Seattle to hold a public demonstration and take part in another free speech fight. They were met by 200 citizen deputies and when Sheriff Donald McRae asked "Who is your leader?" he was told by the group, "We are all leaders!" A gunshot rang out, and many more followed from both directions, killing several men. The day became known as Bloody Sunday. Seventy-four Wobblies were put on trial and all were eventually acquitted due to lack of evidence.

One of the most dominant and pervasive enemies of the IWW was the mainstream press. Newspapers were often owned by the same people who were trying to crush the union's efforts in the workplace, and so had an agenda. Rather than reporting without bias on strikes and free speech fights, blatant propaganda was often printed in the pages of local and national newspapers, such as this in the San Diego *Tribune* of March 4, 1912:

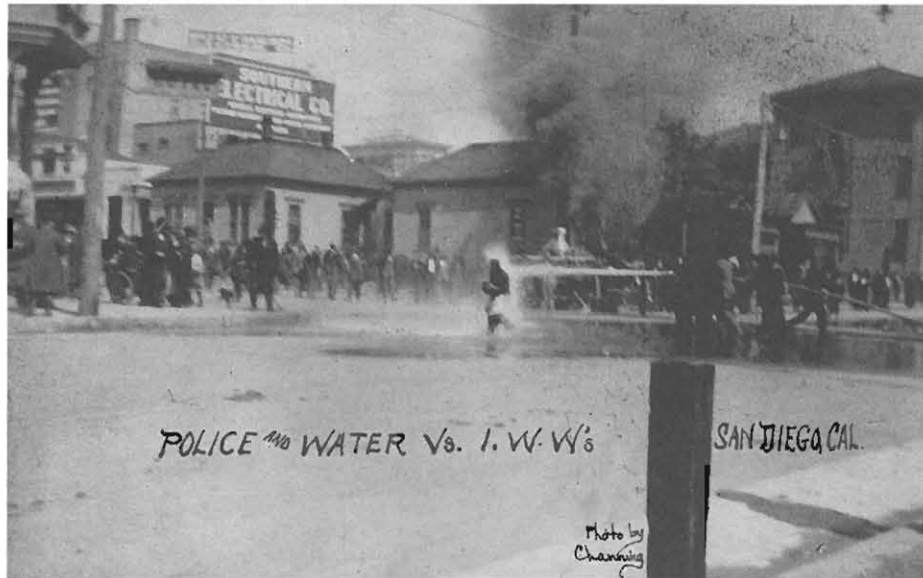
HEAR
**ELIZABETH
GURLEY FLYNN**
AMERICA'S PREMIER WOMAN SPEAKER
on the subject of
BLOODY SUNDAY
THE WORKINGCLASS TRAGEDY OF EVERETT
Admission Free All Welcome



Hanging is none too good for them [IWW organizers], and they would be much better off dead. They are absolutely useless in the human economy. They are the waste material of creation, and should be drained off in the sewer of oblivion to rot like any other excrement.

Despite the violence and repression committed against the IWW, it won many free speech disputes and as a result gained a great deal of recognition and credibility among the working class. Their opponents got an early glimpse of the IWW's potential influence and began a long battle to crush the union, working to pressure the federal government to enact laws which would stifle their activity.

In addition to materials from other free speech fights, the Labadie Collection contains a series of original photographs from the San Diego dispute. There is no record indicating their source, and most of them are not identified. However, several are labeled "Free Speech Fight, San Diego 1912 Photo by Tom Walsh."



Frank Little

"Your memory, like a torch, shall light the flames of revolution. We shall not forget."

To Frank Little by Viola Gilbert Snell, 1917



Union organizing was sometimes as hazardous as mill or factory work. The IWW's first aim was to educate the workers so they could fight against their oppressors. The possibility of losing any profits was a huge threat, so company owners hired vigilantes and paid off police to drive IWW organizers out of town, or to beat them badly.

Frank Little, a Wobbly since 1906, was Chairman of the IWW General Executive Board, and one of the toughest and most radical of the Wobblies. He was among those who steadfastly opposed the draft and felt the IWW should explicitly come out against World War I, saying in a meeting about the issue, "Either we're for this capitalist slaughterfest, or we're against it. I'm ready to face a firing squad rather than compromise."

Little had, on a number of occasions, faced off with vigilantes and police, and helped lead several of the Free Speech Fights. In July of 1917 he was in Butte, Montana, organizing the miners of the Anaconda Copper Company. Negotiations between the miners and the company were not going well. At 3 a.m. on the night of July 31, a group of vigilantes broke into Little's room at the boardinghouse. They pulled him out of bed, tied him to the back of a car, and dragged him out of town before lynching him. They left a note on his body, "First and Last Warning—3-7-77" (the numbers representing the dimensions of a grave), and some initials representing names of other IWW leaders also under threat. No one was ever arrested for his murder.

Little's funeral procession included thousands of miners, and he became, with Joe Hill, one of the most famous Wobbly martyrs.





World War I and the Espionage Act

In Chicago's darkened dungeons
For the O.B.U.
Remember you're outside for us
While we're in here for you.

Remember by Harrison George
Cook County Jail, Oct. 18, 1917

"No war but the class war!" was the motto expressed by many radicals who refused to enlist or otherwise contribute to the national war effort. At their tenth Convention in 1914 the IWW passed a resolution which stated "We as members of the industrial army will refuse to fight for any purpose except the realization of industrial freedom." However, after the United States declared war on Germany in 1917 the IWW leadership, after heated debate, decided to take no official stance on the military draft and thus not explicitly encourage the membership to violate the law. Bill Haywood and Frank Little were notable dissenters from this decision, and in the end it did not protect the union from attacks by federal and state officials that permanently damaged the strength of the IWW.

Woodrow Wilson was so determined to gain support for the war that he sponsored legislation that deported or jailed thousands of Wobblies and other radicals during and just after World War I. Passed by Congress in 1917, the Espionage Act declared illegal any interference with the recruiting of troops by encouraging resistance to the draft. The Act was partially a response to the IWW's call for solidarity with workers everywhere, and the fear that public criticism of the war would hinder military recruitment efforts. Penalty for violation of the Act called for \$10,000 fines and 20 years in prison. A year later, the Act was amended by Congress into what was known as the Sedition Act of 1918, which prohibited publicly criticizing the government verbally or in print. Those arrested under these laws included Eugene Debs (who ran



for president on the Socialist Party ticket from Prison in 1920 and won nearly 1 million votes), Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes, A. Philip Randolph, and Russian-born anarchists Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, as well as editors of publications like *The Masses* and the Yiddish language *Der Shturm*, which authorities said criticized the United States and undermined the war effort. Army troops raided and ransacked offices, meeting halls, and homes, confiscating records, membership lists, account books, literature, correspondence, minutes, and other paraphernalia. Three separate groups of IWW leaders were put on trial in Chicago, Wichita, and Sacramento. They received up to 20 years' imprisonment.



Bill Haywood

In 1919 Wilson appointed former Congressman, pacifist, and women's suffrage supporter A. Mitchell Palmer to head the Attorney General's office. Soon afterwards, a series of anonymous bombings occurred across the country, including one placed at the door of Palmer's house. Between November 1919 and January 1920, Palmer and his young assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, embarked on a backlash against foreigners and radicals still unprecedented, raiding union halls, newspaper offices, and homes, deporting almost 250 immigrants (such as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman) and jailing many others. In total, about 10,000 people were arrested. Palmer's crackdown on aliens and political dissenters became known as the Palmer Raids. The bombers were never caught. At first the public supported Palmer's actions, but he was criticized later for his widespread violations of civil liberties, which some believed were intended to further his political aspirations. He lost the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

Among the one hundred Chicago Wobblies who were arrested were Ralph Chaplin, E.F. Doree, Bill Haywood, Ben Fletcher, Walter Nef, and Charles Ashleigh. (Haywood jumped bail along with eight others and fled to Russia at the urging of the Communist Party; he died in Moscow in 1928.) The trial lasted five months and was presided over by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who allowed a rather informal atmosphere to prevail in his courtroom, with the defendants sleeping, writing letters, and making jokes. The government's case consisted primarily of attacking IWW theories and principles, and all defendants were convicted. In the Cook County (Chicago) jail the Wobblies passed the time writing poetry and songs, publishing a hand-written newspaper (*The Can Opener*), telling stories, giving lectures, and holding meetings. Their numbers protected them and allowed them a great deal of camaraderie and publicity. The thirty-four Kansas defendants were not so



fortunate, suffering horrible prison conditions and severe physical and mental abuse. In Sacramento, defendants presented a "silent defense" declining legal counsel and refusing to defend themselves. Those who were given longer sentences (five years or more) were sent to Leavenworth Penitentiary, along with many deserters and conscientious objectors.



The Chicago Trial had far-reaching implications for the University of Michigan Library. At the height of the arrests a General Defense Committee was set up to raise money for bail and other necessities, and one generous supporter from Ann Arbor, Agnes Inglis, sent money to bail out E.F. Doree. A few years later Inglis became the first curator of the Labadie Collection. In 1997, 45 years after Inglis had died, Doree's daughter Ellen Doree Rosen donated her father's prison letters, photographs, and other related documents to the Labadie Collection in appreciation for Inglis's kindness. In the 1930s Inglis had befriended Ralph Chaplin, who, having long since abandoned his radical activities, nevertheless donated many of his own IWW materials to the Labadie Collection. Mary Gallagher, who worked tirelessly for the release of the IWW defendants, also contributed to the Labadie Collection.

Despite the heavy publicity, support, and increased membership the IWW received as a result of the trials and imprisonments during World War I, the organization was irrevocably damaged. New leadership was put in place, but the dynamic force of the union was lost; it never regained its hold on the American labor movement.



Sabotage

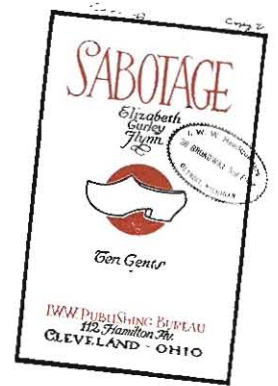
Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay;
That rube is feeling gay;
He learned his lesson quick;
Just through a simple trick;
For fixing rotten jobs;
And fixing greedy slob;
This is the only way,
Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!

Chorus of *Ta-Ra-Ra-Boom-De-Ay* by Joe Hill

"Sabotage means to push back, pull out or break off the fangs of capitalism"
Bill Haywood

Prior to the enactment of labor laws, working conditions were abominable. Even afterwards, political tools that were newly available to workers were often ineffective, because the workers were not educated about their rights, they didn't speak English, or the laws were simply not enforced. Direct action tactics allowed workers to fight back using whatever tools were available to them, and were viewed as a viable method of achieving workers' demands outside of political channels. The IWW promoted direct action after the 1908 split with the Socialist Labor Party (which only advocated political action) but it was not official union policy until 1914, and then only for a short time.

The word sabotage was apparently coined after a French railway strike in 1910 in which the sabots, or metal shoes keeping the rails in place, were cut by strikers. Although the IWW adopted the principle as part of their campaign of direct action, they used another kind of sabot, the wooden shoe, as a symbol of it. For the most part, the IWW used the term to mean conscious, non-violent inefficiency, such as work slowdowns, although some probably construed a more aggressive connotation. Sabotage was strongly promoted by some, especially the anarchist IWW members, in the pages of the *Industrial Worker* and other print venues, as well as in the workplace. Whatever definition applied, machine breaking, slowing down, and otherwise reducing efficiency gave workers a sense of empowerment and the solidarity needed to continue their struggles, and it was more

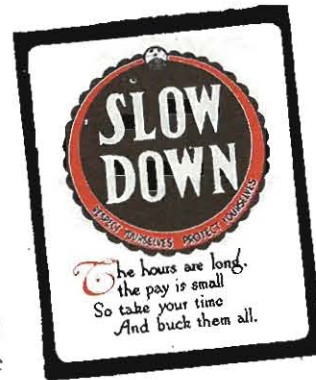


effective than political action. "Direct action gets the goods," was a popular saying among Wobblies.

Lucy Parsons, one of the founding members of the IWW and one of the most prominent women in American labor history, was an advocate of sabotage. A hundred years later, police are still offended by her fiery rhetoric, as in one speech when she urged workers to "learn the use of explosives!" A park in Chicago was recently named for her, despite clamorous objections by the local police.

The IWW symbol of sabotage was (and still is) the black cat or "sab cat." Originally designed by Ralph Chaplin (and given a facelift by Alexis Buss), it was used to symbolize wildcat strikes and other forms of direct action and has become commonly identified with the IWW. It is the only labor union in history to have officially promoted sabotage as a tactic, with references in its songs, poems, and cartoons, as well as printed pamphlets and stickers.

The advocacy of sabotage was not always supported even within the IWW. When Frank Little and some of the other militant Wobblies wanted to reprint Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's controversial 1913 speech to the striking Paterson silk workers, *Sabotage: the Conscious Withdrawal of the Workers' Industrial Efficiency*, his motion was voted down in an effort to draw the government's attention away from IWW activities. In 1917 the government arrested hundreds of IWW members for violations of the Espionage Act, and then used the term against the defendants, trying to prove that the organization's official policy advocated violence. The prosecution was unable to provide any evidence of sabotage; moreover, no such evidence in any IWW trial was ever produced. At that time, the IWW officially withdrew Gurley Flynn's and similar books and pamphlets from circulation and renounced the use of sabotage by any of its members. Long after, in 1989 when jail terms were no longer a harsh memory, the word again appeared on the cover of the *Industrial Worker*. By this time all the old-timers were gone and the term could be safely revived. The Wobblies' defiant spirit of direct action lives on in many protest movements of today. As can be seen by the later reprints of classic texts on sabotage, it remains a popular (and hotly contested) topic of discussion and analysis among radical groups.



The Centralia Conflict

"Tell the boys I did my best."

Wesley Everest



Wesley Everest

Centralia, Washington (about 85 miles south of Seattle) had been a hotbed of IWW organizing activity aimed at the lumber workers since 1915, and a center of conflict between IWW members and the town leaders for even longer. In several incidents members had been escorted out of town in groups, the union hall destroyed, and individuals beaten, but the Wobblies persisted.

As in many U.S. cities, on the first anniversary of Armistice Day in 1919 a parade was planned in Centralia. Rumors of another raid on the union hall during the parade were heard, and the IWW distributed a leaflet to try to gain public support, without much success. They then sought the advice of an attorney who told them they had a right to defend themselves, so they armed themselves and waited. When the American Legion's contingent broke off from the rest of the parade, marched to the IWW hall, and broke down the door, the shooting began. Two legionnaires were killed, and four Wobblies were arrested.

Wesley Everest, a veteran of World War I and IWW lumberjack, escaped out the back door with three others and killed two Legionnaires in the ensuing gunfight. He was overcome when he tried to reload his gun, and taken to jail, where he refused to even give his name. That night electrical power went out throughout the city, and Everest was forced from his cell by an armed mob and taken to a local bridge. He was castrated, shot several times, and hung. His last words to his comrades as he was taken from the jail were, "Tell the boys I did my best."

The resulting hysteria against the IWW spread from Centralia across the country, where it was generally believed that the Wobblies had fired on a peaceful, patriotic parade. In 1920 several members of the IWW in Centralia were put on trial for conspiracy to commit murder, found guilty, and given harsh sentences. In time the injustice of their trial and sentences became a widely supported cause célèbre.



O.C. Bland, IWW
convicted of 2nd degree
murder in the Centralia case





Wobblies in Print

"Unlike orthodox Marxists, we had no revolutionary Bible. Our simple creed was summed up in the *Little Red Song Book*, the *I.W.W. Preamble* and a handful of ten-cent pamphlets."

From *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical* by Ralph Chaplin

Education of the workers was viewed by the IWW founders as the first and most important step toward the elimination of the capitalist system and the power of the boss. Although meetings, soap boxing, and word of mouth were very effective ways in which the IWW educated and communicated with members and prospective members, their written communications have been their predominant means of reaching and teaching workers.

The union could not count on mainstream newspapers to print accurate and unbiased accounts of strikes and other events, so they wrote and published their own accounts. Like the approximately 1,000 foreign-language newspapers published during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the IWW too reached out to non-English speakers living in the United States. Prior to 1946 there were at least fourteen distinct IWW newspapers published in eleven different languages, including Italian, Spanish, German, Finnish, Hungarian, Slovenian, and Greek. Many experienced editors and printers joined the IWW, making it easy for their printing enterprise to succeed. Using various methods of distribution and a range of printing quality, these publications were the main source for informing workers about news of labor struggles and efforts to abolish the wage system. Some of the better known IWW newspapers include, *The Industrial Worker* (started in 1909 and still being published), *The One Big Union Monthly*, *Golos Truzhennika*, *Il Proletario*, and *Solidarity*. Specific industries were the focus of newspapers such as *The Lumberjack*, *The Rip-Tide* (Marine Transport Workers), and *Defense News Bulletin*, the purpose of which was to generate financial and moral support for strikers and political prisoners.

In addition to weekly and monthly newspapers, the melting pot of IWW print communiqués included thousands of pamphlets, posters, organizing handbooks, leaflets, strike bulletins,

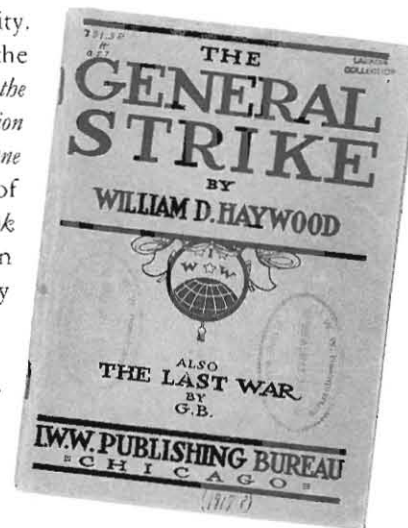


stickers, songbooks, and other calls for solidarity. Pamphlets were especially useful in outlining the principles of the IWW, with such titles as *What is the IWW?* (published in several languages), *Direct Action & Sabotage*, *Economic Revolution*, *The General Strike*, *One Big Union*, *The Truth About the IWW*, and dozens of others. Nearly 40 editions of the *Little Red Songbook* (*Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent*) have been published, the latest one being the 100th anniversary edition in 2005.

Aware of the powerful impact of these provocative and confrontational tools on workers and the larger community of sympathizers, police often targeted IWW print shops and offices. They confiscated (and usually destroyed) all publications, smashed printing presses and other equipment, and jailed editors. Even independent print shop owners who printed IWW materials would be subject to interrogation. In order to avoid unwanted government attention, pamphlets were sometimes published without printing the publisher's name or city.

In 1986 Dione Miles, then archivist at the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University, assembled a listing of over 5,000 publications by and about the IWW, including books, articles, pamphlets, newspapers, dissertations, government documents, histories, poetry and drama. Her book *Something In Common: An IWW Bibliography* (Wayne State University Press) remains a valuable and often cited resource. Miles died earlier this year, but her legacy lives on in her compilation, which continues to be used and cited. In addition, scores of reprints of IWW newspapers and pamphlets have been issued by various publishers, attesting to their continuing popularity.

Partly as an economic enterprise, but also to keep the spirit of the Wobbly legend alive, the IWW still publishes books, newspapers, pamphlets, *Little Red Songbooks*, and music. They also continue to print leaflets, buttons, stickers, and other collectibles such as calendars, caps, pennants, posters, and t-shirts.





Wobbly Culture

"They go wild, simply wild, over me."

From *The Popular Wobbly* by T-Bone Slim

The IWW's ideals of bringing about an end to the class struggle, with all races of workers standing together, has always appealed to those with progressive ideas, but people have also been attracted to the IWW because of its folklore. It stands out in U.S. political, labor, and radical history as a movement made up of folks with lively imaginations. Those among its ranks have been at the same time artistic and practical, light-hearted and tenacious, true members of the working class, certain that their goals would someday be reached, and, in the meantime, despite the bitter struggle or perhaps because of it they were going to have fun getting there. Their message, disseminated through theater, art, poetry, story, and song, became the bond that held the ideal together and provided a sense of solidarity in the struggle throughout the world.

Singing is almost guaranteed to gain attention and recognition at street level, and *I.W.W. Songs* (or the *Little Red Songbook*) has been an important part of Wobbly culture, going through nearly 40 editions in various languages. Subtitled "Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent," its use along with other song sheets on picket lines has held strikes together when speeches, rallies, and droning chants through bullhorns are more likely to chase people away than to induce them to become involved. Singing strikers and sitters-in have endured biting cold weather, hunger, exhaustion, and anxiety more easily than those who remain quiet and solemn.



Little Red Songbooks

Joe Hill, Ralph Chaplin, Harry McClintock, T-Bone Slim, and Woody Guthrie are among the most famous Wobbly songwriters. Joe Hill probably wrote more IWW songs and poetry than any of the others combined, despite the fact that he died at the youthful age of 36.

People who have never heard of the Industrial Workers of the World are likely to have heard of its most famous member, Joe Hill. Born in Sweden, he was a maritime worker who immigrated to the U.S. in 1902. By 1905 he had joined the IWW, and like many Wobblies of that time he was an itinerant worker, traveling by boxcar around the country

and working in cities in both east and west. He was also a successful IWW organizer and well known to the authorities. In 1914 a Salt Lake City grocer and his son were murdered. The same night, Joe Hill knocked on the door of a Salt Lake City doctor with a bullet wound. Circumstantial evidence and Hill's refusal to give an alibi caused him to be charged with the murders. Despite his claim of innocence and the lack of witnesses, he was convicted and sentenced to death. Many believed that he did not receive a fair trial, and many appeals were made on his behalf to the Governor of Utah, ranging from President Wilson and the Prime Minister of Sweden to thousands of other people who sent letters and telegrams of protest. He was executed by a firing squad on November 15, 1915. His last words to Bill Haywood were, "Don't mourn for me, organize!"

One of Joe Hill's final requests was not to be "caught dead" in Utah, so his body was shipped to Chicago where 30,000 people attended his funeral. He was cremated and his ashes divided among all the IWW locals, to be scattered "where some flowers grow." An envelope which once held some of Hill's ashes was donated to the Labadie Collection by George Carey in the 1940s. The poem *I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night*, written by Alfred Hayes in 1925 and set to music in 1936 by Earl Robinson, has been performed and recorded by scores of musicians and translated into 15 languages; it is still sung by workers throughout the world.



Joe Hill's funeral procession

Hill wrote popular songs that are still sung today, such as *Casey Jones-The Union Scab*. With other Wobblies, he began the practice of singing irreverent songs that ridicule those who hold power in our society. He coined the term "pie in the sky" in his song *The Preacher and the Slave*, (sung to the tune of *In the Sweet Bye and Bye*) which ridiculed the Salvation Army (referred to by Wobblies as the "Starvation Army") preachers who enticed down-and-outers to the mission with a meal:

*Long-haired preachers come out every night,
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right;
But when asked how 'bout something to eat
They will answer with voices so sweet:
You will eat, bye and bye
In that glorious land above the sky;
Work and pray,
Live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die.*

The most popular song on picket lines today is *Solidarity Forever*, written by Ralph Chaplin in 1915 during a coal miner's strike in West Virginia and sung to the tune of *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. Here is the first of its six verses (with chorus):

*When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one,
But the union makes us strong.*

*Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong.*

Harry McClintock is credited with writing the famous hobo song, *Hallelujah, I'm a Bum*, which was sung in jungles (hobo camps) throughout the country. The verses were short and it was easy to make up new ones, so several variations exist. The first verse and chorus:

*Why don't you work like other folks do?
How can I get a job when you're holding down two?*

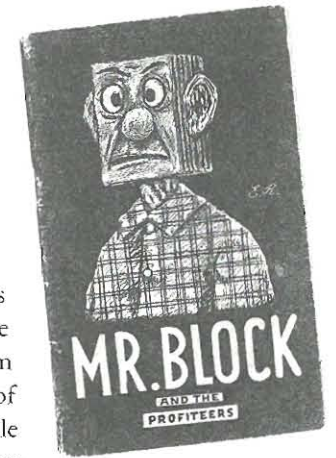
*Hallelujah, I'm a bum,
Hallelujah, bum again,
Hallelujah, give us a handout
To revive us again.*

Hobos, or bindle stiffs, were itinerant workers who had a culture and language all their own. Unlike "homeguards" who lived and worked in one place, hobos went from job to job, city to city, with no interest in putting down roots. As hobos they faced many hazards from men and nature and became an IWW target for organizing when other unions ignored them. As workers they understood the meaning of class struggle and embraced the IWW. Within the union they were part of the faction that supported direct, as opposed to political, action. A group of nineteen hobos from the Northwest known as "The Overalls Brigade" rode the rails to the 1908 IWW convention in Chicago in order to drive out the De Leonists, who were in favor of political activity. They succeeded.

Several thousand cartoons have appeared in IWW newspapers as a way to educate and entertain. The cartoon character Mr. Block, created by artist Ernest Riebe was the epitome

of a "Scissor Bill," or a worker who identifies too closely with the boss's point of view. Art Young was the most famous cartoonist who published his work in IWW newspapers, but did not belong to the union itself. Several well-known Wobblies also drew and published cartoons, including founding member Thomas Hagerty, Joe Hill, and Ralph Chaplin.

In addition to being a poet and songwriter, Ralph Chaplin was famous for his artwork and often published cartoons in the pages of *Solidarity* and the *Industrial Worker* under the pseudonym "Bingo." He was one of the Chicago defendants convicted of interfering with the war effort in 1918 and wrote poetry while in jail. He also designed the *Can Opener*, a handwritten newspaper put out by the IWW prisoners in Cook County Jail. Chaplin attended art school and worked as a commercial artist. He was able to draw both humorous and serious cartoons equally well. He also designed book covers, and stickers ("silent agitators") used by the IWW.



Ernest Riebe's Mr. Block

Hundreds of poems have been written by and about Wobblies. Some were expressions of sorrow for fallen Fellow Workers, such as Frank Little, Wesley Everest, Joe Hill, and dozens of lesser-knowns who sacrificed their lives for the cause. Some poetic tirades against war were written, only to be used against the organization in the Red Scare, and poems for prisoner solidarity were penned for inspiration and courage.

Wobbly poet and artist Carlos Cortez (1923-2005) was an important IWW artist during the last half of the 20th century who was most famous for his linocut and woodcut graphics. He created a set of images depicting Wobblies Joe Hill, Ben Fletcher, Lucy Parsons, and Ricardo Flores Magon. His artwork has often been reprinted, and is exhibited throughout the world. Much of his poetry also honors earlier Wobblies, recounting their struggles and remembering their sacrifices.

Besides Cortez, other contemporary IWW artists and musicians include Joe Glazer, Pete Seeger, Utah Phillips, Anne Feeney, Nicole Schulman, and Dylan Miner. The abundance of artwork, poetry, song, and theater that continues to be created about the IWW reflects the widespread and continuing fascination for this legendary labor union today.



Preamble to the IWW Constitution

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, abolish the wage system, and live in harmony with the Earth.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



WHAT TIME IS IT?

